ARM. ANURJ 'DREAM'

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In *KZ* 97,130 (1984) I studied the Greek noun ὄνειρο- (masc. and neut.) and its development from the moribund heteroclite ὄναρ < *Hónr̥ or *OVnr = ʷnr. The new stem *ὀνερyο- would represent a thematization of a revised locative *Aʷneri[1]. and the duplicate gender is thereby easily explicable. I remain satisfied with my account of the Greek noun.

I then remarked: "The vocalism of *anurǰ* cannot be equivalent to that of τέκμωρ, beside τέκμαρ, since I consider that τέκμωρ must be an old plural *-mrA to τέκμαρ < *-mr." This then led me, as it has all others in the past, to seek a difficult solution by adopting the great complexity of a separate and different starting stem form for the Armenian from that attested in Greek. I realize now that I have meantime reached a conclusion which makes all that complexity unnecessaary.

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1. It is not necessary to assume an *a*- colouring laryngeal as I allowed for the Cretan ἄναιρος. If Cretan replaced *ὀνερι with an analogical *ὀναρι(-), the observed *ἀναρι(-) would simply reflect assimilation.

I have shown in *AArmL* 11, 21 (1990) that the recognized equation of *ul* (*uluc̓*, as an animal term, or *uloc̓*) 'kid, fawn' = πῶλος 'foal, filly' goes back to **pōl* < **polH* < ** plH*. This means that these two rules applying to liquid + laryngeal in final position are shared by Greek and Armenian. We must expect, then, that the same two rules that produce ὕδωρ in Greek from **udr-A*, a collective, will apply likewise in Armenian.

Since in such a collective-plural of a neuter heteroclite we must look for zero-grade throughout we can confidently reconstruct *anurǰ-* as **anur-y-* < **Hnōr* < **Xʷnōr* < **XʷnorH* < **Xʷnr-A*. At the Helleno-Armenian level we find the yod derivation as well as the outcome **ōr* for final **r̥H*.

The morphology of **XʷnrA* exactly matches the plurale tantum of attested *anurǰ-k̓*, the preferred plural of ὀνείρατα, and even the phonology of the feminine Albanian Geg *ândërr(ë)*, Tosk *ëndërrë* < **ân(ë)rrë* < **ánarnā* < **onrH-nā* or **onri-nā* < **onr̥-nā*. The Albanian shows ** -nā* with *n*-state of the heteroclite stem for the collective-plural.

We now see that ὄναρ, ὀνερyο-, and **anur-y-* as ***XʷVnr*, **Xʷneryo-*, and **Xʷnōr-y-* respectively form as a set a remarkable multiple agreement binding together Hellenic and Armenian.

ARM. SAYR 'KNIFE EDGE'

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Birgit A. Olsen posits (*AArmL* 10, 1989: 12) a rather rare type of formation for *sayr-i* < **ḱE̜ris*. In any case, I would have **ḱQris*. But, more to the immediate point, a Schwundstufe *i-* formation (nominalization) to a *-ró-* formation gives one pause.

If a 'knife edge' is a *'sharpening', and hence related to *sur* 'sharp' > **ḱeO-ró-* and *sur* 'sword' then perhaps *sayr* would reflect a conflation of **ḱeO-tēr* 'a sharpener' (> ***suyr*) and **ḱQsr̥* (the old heteroclite verbal noun.)

These could have produced **ḱQ-sēr* > *ḱahir* > **sair* > *sayr*. A related stem in **ḱa-sn-* could have been eliminated.

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ARM. GEWŁ 'VILLAGE'

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J. E. Rasmussen has given us a brilliant and characteristically meticulous explanation of this difficult Armenian noun, strong stem-state *gewł-* (> *giwł*, etc.), weak stem-state *gełǰ-* "middle" stem-state *giwłi-*.[2] These stem forms would go back to **gelu*, **gely--*, and **geli--* and hence to **wél-ōy* , **w(e)l-y-ós* etc. The last form is aided in its explanation by such Greek words for 'crowd' as ἀλής, Aeol. ἀολλής, εἴλη/ἴλη, and ἅλις 'heaps of, enough'; in that regard I would suggest that the apparent **-n-* suffix (required by the Greek vowel lengthenings) had replaced the old **-Héi-* argued by me below.

This is a very satisfying solution, and as Rasmussen remarks in footnote 9, it takes {nearly} full account of all phonological and morphological detail. I have just one set of interlocking proposals to add. Parenthetically, they also address my dissatisfaction with the overly rich armory of IE inflexional accent types here with which Rasmussen and others implied in his references operate.

Surely we need to account for the aspirate in Vedic *sákhā* = YAv. *haxa* (: Lat. *socius*, OE *secg* : ἀοσσέω 'help': Myc. *e-qe-ta*, ἐπέτας). Observing the relation of accent, vocalism of stem final,

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2. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 28, 1987, 31-4.

and deletion/apocope of final sonant/glide (shared with *-r and *nasal)[3], we may reconstruct

N   *sók^wHo: < *sók^w-Ho: : πειθώ
A   (sók^wHoyṃ)   sók^w-Hoi-m   (πειθοῦς)
D   sók^wHyei   sk^w-Hi-éi
G ? sok^wHyós   sk^w-Héi-s
L   sk^w-Héi

Alongside this we place the oxytone (IE lexically unaccented) paradigm (like that of *pAter- or ezn):

N   Av. kauua, Lyd. kaveś[4]   kow-Héi: < *kou-Hé:i(-s)
A   kauuaēm   kow-Héim   kou-Héi-m
D   Ved. kavî-   kow-Hi-éi   kou-Hi-éi
G   Av. kauuōiš   (kow-Héi-s)   kou-Hi-ós
L   kou-Héi
Pl N kāuuaiias   kow-Héy-es   kou-Héi-es

Therefore our Armenian noun (and also giwt and sp'iwr, as Rasmussen suggests) must go back to the following, as a partial of the above:

N   *uél-Ho: < *uél-Ho:
D   uel-(H)i-éi   ul-Hi-éi
I   uel-Hi+b^hi   ul-Hi+b^hi

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3. Cf. my discussion of *dhégh-o: in Albanian dhē 'earth', KZ 103, 1990, 289-92, esp. footnote 2.
    4. IF 66, 1961, 21 ff.; regardless of the correct detail, the vocalism of the final syllable now becomes important for Lydian.

The Greek vocalisation of *ḷ* is now very easily explained, and Rasmussen's analysis of ἅλις is confirmed.

As Rasmussen perceptively sees, the so-called diphthong stems were once much more frequent, and were a perfectly normal rule-governed formation.

In fact, I suggest that the suffix *$-Héi-/-Hoi-$*, i.e. *$-{}^{X}éi-/-{}^{X}oi-$*, was parallel in form to *$-Hon-$*, i.e. *$-X^{w}on-$*, on which see my analyses of Celtic *abū*, gen. **abens*, Welsh *afon*, Breton *aven* 'river,'[5] and Latin *amnis*.

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5. See *Studia Celtica* 26-27, 1991-1992, 15-20, and references therein.